

COMMUNITY IDENTITY SHAPES RESIDENTIAL MIXING

POST PRINT VERSION

To cite print version:

Stevenson, C., Easterbrook, M.J., Harkin, L., McNamara, N., Kellezi, B., & Shuttleworth, I. (in press) Re-identifying Residential Mixing: Emergent Identity Dynamics Between Incomers and Existing Residents in a Mixed Neighbourhood in Northern Ireland. *European Journal of Social Psychology*.

Re-identifying Residential Mixing: Emergent Identity Dynamics Between Incomers and Existing Residents in a Mixed Neighbourhood in Northern Ireland.

Clifford Stevenson¹, Niamh McNamara¹, Blerina Kellezi¹, Matthew Easterbrook², Ian Shuttleworth³ and Deborah Hyden³.

¹ Nottingham Trent University

² Sussex University

³ Queen's University Belfast

Author note: Correspondence should be addressed to Dr Clifford Stevenson, Department of Psychology, Nottingham Trent University, 50 Shakespeare Street, Nottingham, NG2 4FQ. Email: clifford.stevenson@ntu.ac.uk Tel: +44 (0)115 848 4612 Fax: +44 (0)115 848 4460

Re-identifying Residential Mixing: Emergent Identity Dynamics Between Incomers and Existing Residents in a Mixed Neighbourhood in Northern Ireland.

Abstract

Research on residential diversification has neglected its impact on neighbourhood identity and overlooked the very different identity-related experiences of new and existing residents. The present research examines how incoming and established group members relate to their changing neighbourhood in the increasingly desegregated city of Belfast, Northern Ireland. Thematic analysis of interviews with 24 residents (12 Protestant long-term residents, 12 Catholic incomers) from an increasingly mixed neighbourhood, identified asymmetrical concerns and experiences: incomers reported undergoing an ‘identity transition’ between local communities, while long-term residents faced an ‘identity merger’ within their neighbourhood. Where their identity concerns diverged, emergent intergroup perceptions of the residents were negative and divisive; where they accorded, positive intergroup perceptions and a shared neighbourhood identity evolved. From this, we propose a Social Identity Model of Residential Diversification (SIMRD) to encourage future research into how different identity concerns shape emergent intergroup dynamics between long-term residents and incomers within diversifying neighbourhoods.

Keywords: Residential diversification, community identity, identity change, intergroup contact

Introduction

Over the past two decades, the Applied Social Identity Approach has demonstrated the pivotal impact of shared identity upon the collective perceptions and interactions of group members (Haslam, 2014; Haslam, Jetten, Postmes, & Haslam, 2009). Sharing an identity has been shown to improve intragroup trust, increase intragroup helping behaviour and facilitate collective action. These processes are particularly important within residential communities which, by virtue of their geographical locatedness, form the social and environmental context for the daily lives of residents (McNamara, Stevenson & Muldoon, 2013). As residents often face common challenges and threats, shared community identity can play a pivotal role in structuring common perception, facilitating collective coping, and coordinating neighbourhood action.

The occurrence of residential mixing poses a potential threat to these neighbourhood dynamics. An influx of members of different groups into one's locale can disrupt community life and undermine a sense of local unity. Across the social sciences, this negative impact of diversification on the 'social capital' of neighbourhoods has been fiercely debated, (e.g. Putnam, 2007; Savelkoul, Hewstone, Scheepers, & Stolle, 2015), yet within psychology the impact of diversification upon local communities has been largely overlooked. Where it has been examined, its effects on community identity have been disregarded and the distinctive identity-related experiences of different groups have been ignored.

In this paper, we first review evidence of the dynamics of residential community identities. Secondly, we consider two types of threat to residents' identities: that experienced by residents transitioning between neighbourhoods and that encountered by existing residents experiencing an influx of outgroup members. Third, we review the evidence of the effects of residential

diversification and note an absence of consideration of neighbourhood identity processes. We then present findings from an investigation of how incoming and long-term residents respond to residential mixing in a recently desegregated area of Northern Ireland, as well as how they perceive and react to their new neighbours. Finally, we propose a new model of the identity processes of residential diversification, drawing on our findings to hypothesise that the different identity dynamics in operation among long-term residents and incomers serve to shape the emergent intergroup dynamics between them.

Residential community identity

Due to their physical locatedness, residential communities offer a range of features which impact upon the behaviours, social relations and identities of their inhabitants (Brown, Perkins & Brown, 2003; Devine-Wright, 2009; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). Proximity affords opportunities for daily contact which may form the basis for the emergence of meaningful social bonds (Festinger, Schacheter & Back, 1950; Easterbrook & Vignoles, 2015). Residential communities also entail a degree of shared interest, as neighbours are typically affected by the same environmental, social, and economic conditions and concerns. Moreover, to the extent that the behaviour of any resident impacts upon their neighbours, residents are interdependent such that neighbours are both the group cohort and social context for residential life (McNamara et al., 2013).

The impact of neighbourhood upon the lives of residents has been studied extensively in many disciplines. For example, in social geography researchers have found evidence of a spatial effect upon residents' wellbeing which occurs in addition to the influence of the demographic characteristics of the area (van Ham & Manley, 2012). Moreover, there are health consequences associated with population movement between areas, both for those moving and those remaining

within changing areas (Boyle, Norman & Rees, 2004), though the reasons for this are unclear. From a psychological perspective, the key underpinning mechanism in the relationship between resident and neighbourhood is a sense of place attachment or place identification (Brown et al., 2003; Obst & White, 2005). This understanding of community entails several dimensions pertaining to the specific place and manifestation of the community, but at its core entails a sense of social identity. If a resident feels themselves to belong to a neighbourhood and identifies with their fellow residents, this facilitates more positive social relations and, as a result, they will feel supported and expect to be able to collectively cope with challenges. If the local community is divided and lacks a shared identity, then marginalisation, alienation and conflict will likely result (Stevenson, McNamara & Muldoon, 2014).

One example of this comes from research into deprived urban communities in Limerick city in Ireland (McNamara et al., 2013). A survey of local residents assessed their levels of identification with the local community, their perceptions of being able to rely on others, and their general wellbeing. Results indicated a clear relationship between neighbourhood identification and self-reported health, which was mediated by the residents' perception of the 'collective efficacy' of their neighbourhood (McNamara et al., 2013).

In the very different context of a North Indian pilgrimage, a study of how hundreds of thousands of attendees endure harsh environmental conditions provided further evidence of the influence of residential community identity on collective coping processes (Shankar et al., 2013). A longitudinal survey demonstrated that sharing a cold, crowded, noisy environment with tens of thousands of other pilgrims for an entire month paradoxically has health benefits for attendees when compared with a matched sample of the local population (Khan et al., 2015). Ethnographic observation of pilgrims living together in basic conditions in the winter month of Magh

(January/February) showed how neighbours supported one another to endure the cold conditions to complete their religious rituals (Pandey, Stevenson, Shankar, Hopkins, & Reicher, 2014). In effect, the identity shared by the residential community at the festival shaped the experience of hardship by coordinating the daily supportive responses of the pilgrims. As with the residential communities in Limerick, community identity was pivotal to collectively coping with adversity.

Challenges to neighbourhood identity

The importance of local community identity to residents is particularly evident when changes in the context or the composition of the local community threaten residents' sense of neighbourhood identity. Research using the Social Identity Model of Identity Change (SIMIC) shows that, in general, individuals who move between different groups can be stripped of their previous supportive bonds as a result, thus becoming more vulnerable to perceptions of threat and stress (Iyer, Jetten, Tsivrikos, Postmes, & Haslam, 2009; Jones & Jetten, 2011). In terms of residential community identity, leaving a residential community is predictably stressful and can have consequences for the social networks, identities, and health of individuals. Moving from home to university has been shown to be linked to a decline in wellbeing due to the disruption of group memberships (Iyer et al., 2009; Praherso, Tear & Cruwys 2017). This effect has been shown to be exacerbated by an incompatibility of home and university identities but reduced when the individual maintains multiple group memberships during the move. Residential mobility is particularly stressful and merely anticipating a residential move is sufficient to trigger stress of anticipated identity loss and an increased need to make new friends (Oishi et al., 2013; Praherso, Tear & Cruwys 2017).

While the SIMIC model examines movement between groups, it does not examine the effects of this movement upon existing groups. Research within organisational settings shows that existing community dynamics can also be undermined by an influx of individuals which threaten the perceived continuity of the groups' prior identity (e.g. van Knippenberg, van Knippenberg, Monden & de Lima, 2002). An influx of new members or a 'merger' between pre-existing groups can therefore pose a serious challenge to identity continuity which can result in resistance to change and disengagement from the amalgamated group (van Knippenberg et al., 2002; Jetten & Hutchison, 2011). For example, in terms of national identity, if an influx of immigrants is perceived as an overwhelming threat to the continuity of national identity, this also leads to strong feelings of existential threat or 'angst' (Jetten & Wohl, 2012) and strong antipathy towards the incoming members (Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2015). However, if a sense of continuity can be maintained within a group during the phase of change, the perceived threat can potentially be reduced (Jetten & Hutchinson, 2011). Across the broader social sciences, local residents' use of nostalgia to proactively maintain their local identity in the face of demographic change have been documented (e.g. Kasinitz & Hillyard, 1995; Meeus, Devos & De Blust, 2016). However, the social psychological processes underpinning these reactions and their implications for the incoming population remain to be examined.

The impact of residential diversification

Elsewhere in the social sciences, the study of the impact of incomers on existing neighbourhoods has examined the effects upon social relationships and wellbeing. Within social geography the evidence for the effects of residential mixing upon health is inconclusive and is contingent, depending heavily upon the characteristics of each case study (Catney, 2015). Likewise, in political science, the effects of residential mixing are hotly debated. Putnam (2001; 2007) argues

that social diversification is likely to reduce forms of reciprocal trust and helping within local communities. His ‘constrict theory’ proposes residents will withdraw or ‘hunker down’ to avoid potential conflict which will in turn reduce associational behaviour and wellbeing. Evidence from large scale surveys of community cohesion such as the US Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey shows that, at least at the aggregate survey level, increasing diversification is associated with reduced social capital (Putnam, 2007).

However, other research has shown that while diversification may increase threat perception, it also affords opportunities for more positive contact between groups and an improvement in intergroup trust and cross-community cohesion. Positive contact between different groups has been shown to reduce prejudice, mainly through the reduction of intergroup anxiety and increase in intergroup empathy (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; 2008). In terms of residential contact, contra to predictions from constrict theory, the higher the proportion of the minority within a community, the more opportunity for contact between both groups and the lower the levels of perceived intergroup threat (Savelkoul et al., 2015). Likewise, at the individual level, diversification has a positive or negative effect on social capital depending on the residents’ bridging links. If an individual has pre-existing ties with the outgroup or if the influx increases these links, the effect will be positive (Laurence, 2009). Only if the resident does not make more links with incomers does diversification lead to social withdrawal and poorer levels of neighbourhood trust (Stolle & Harell, 2013).

Notably, these studies of neighbourhood diversification have been undertaken largely independently of the study of neighbourhood identity. If local community identity is central to the experience of neighbourhood life and serves to structure community relations, then it should be pivotal to the understanding of the effects of residential diversification. Moreover, the study of

residential diversification largely occurs at the aggregate level and overlooks the very different identity-dynamics of incomers and long-term residents. Our previous work has highlighted the heightened anxiety experienced by incomers to newly mixed areas and their struggle to integrate within their new locales (Stevenson & Sagherian-Dickey, 2016) but has yet to explore the reactions of established residents. Social psychology lacks models of emergent intergroup relations which can be brought to bear to examine such situations (Schwartz, Vignoles, Brown, & Zagefka, 2014) but, without an appreciation of these different and potentially conflicting sets of concerns and priorities, a full understanding of the dynamics of successful neighbourhood identity change is unlikely. The present study is, to our knowledge, the first of its kind to address this gap by exploring how intergroup dynamics emerge from residential mixing between incomers and long-term residents. We do so in a context in which the compatibility of identities is often a barrier to peaceful coexistence: post-conflict Northern Ireland.

Case Study: Residential Mixing in Belfast

Since the cease-fires of 1998, which brought to an end a phase of over 30 years of armed conflict, Northern Ireland remains a divided society, with Catholics and Protestants often leading separate and parallel lives. Segregation prevails in the spheres of education and recreation as well as religion (Hughes, Campbell, Hewstone, & Cairns, 2007). Moreover, the region evidences high levels of residential segregation, with 30% of Protestants living in areas designated as segregated (80% or greater of their own tradition) and 44% of Catholics living in equally homogeneous Catholic areas (OFMDFM, 2013). In the capital city of Belfast, this figure is much higher, with 67% of Catholics and 73% of Protestants living in segregated areas (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2010). However, more recent evidence from the 2011 Census suggests that although residential segregation levels remain high, they have fallen from their earlier peak (Shuttleworth & Lloyd, 2013). Nolan (2014) noted

that the 2011 census indicated “*a steep decline in the proportion of ‘single identity’ wards (above a threshold of 80 per cent of one religion), from 55 per cent to 37 per cent*” and “*in line with the growth of the Catholic population, a change in 28 wards to a Catholic majority, with none going the other way*” (p115).

With the advent of peace, a greater level of movement and mixing between Catholics and Protestants is now possible in all spheres of life. In terms of residential mobility this has resulted in a greater reported desire to live in mixed areas with 82% of survey respondents preferring to live in mixed areas and 87% believing that mixing leads to better relations (OFMDFM 2013). There has also been actual demographic change in single identity areas. However, while there is evidence of an overall increase in the level of intergroup contact among residents of mixed areas, this is often tempered by a level of strategic withdrawal at different times according to political tensions (Hughes, Campbell, Hewstone, & Cairns, 2008).

There is some survey evidence that this increased mixing does lead to better intergroup relations. In general, higher levels of contact are associated with lower levels of prejudice and better intergroup relations (Hewstone et al., 2005, 2008). Surveys of mixed areas of the capital city of Belfast show that some residents of mixed areas do generally have more positive intergroup attitudes, in part due to more frequent and better-quality interactions with those from the other group. However, residing in mixed areas is also associated with higher levels of perceived threat from the outgroup and can have *negative* effects upon the intergroup attitudes and experiences of individuals who are less integrated into their neighbourhoods (Schmid, Hewstone, Hughes, Jenkins & Cairns, 2009; Schmid Tausch, Hewstone, Hughes, & Cairns, 2008). Our own research suggests that this is in part attributable to the heightened anxiety of incomers moving into potentially hostile environments (Stevenson & Sagherian-Dickey, 2016) and that, for all residents, identifying with

one's local neighbourhood reduces intergroup anxiety, thus improving intergroup attitudes (Stevenson, Easterbrook, Harkin, McNamara, Kellezi & Shuttleworth, 2018).

Therefore, in line with the broader literature on neighbourhood diversification above, there is some evidence to suggest that mixing in Northern Ireland has different effects on residents according to their level of neighbourhood identification and cross-community links. However, this research has yet to investigate the interactions between incomers and long-term residents from different religious backgrounds within these newly mixed areas, as well as their changing relations to the evolving identity of the neighbourhood. Our present study therefore aims to examine the convergence or divergence between these perspectives with a view to more fully understanding patterns of successful and unsuccessful mixing.

Method

In order to get in-depth insight into the dynamics of residential diversification, we recruited participants from one particular neighbourhood in Belfast which has shown demographic shifts between the census dates of 2001 and 2011. The site was previously a Protestant working-class single-identity neighbourhood that had experienced an influx of Northern Irish Catholics over this period. One basis for selection was that the geographic limits of the neighbourhood are clearly defined by main roads and public parks and the local area is perceived by residents to have a distinctive identity and an identifiable territorial boundary.

Participants

Within this area we recruited two diverse samples of people who were either long-term Protestant residents (n=12, of which 5 female; age range 22–75, mean=52) or recent Catholic incomers (n=12, of which 8 were female; age range 24–45 with a mean=37). The different age ranges do reflect the

different profiles of these two groups as ascertained in previous research (Stevenson & Sagherian-Dickey, 2016). Within these parameters both the samples were diverse in terms of occupation (managerial, professional, manual, unemployed). These participants were strategically selected to investigate the specific dynamics of mixing between the two religious groups and so do not represent the range of other faiths and nationalities in the area.

Procedure

Interviewees were recruited through several avenues, including local community organisations and church groups as well as snowballing through initial participants. Participants were invited to take part in *‘a study investigating people’s experiences of living in areas of Belfast which have different levels of diversity and religious mixing’*. Interviews were conducted by trained interviewers in the homes of participants. The interview schedule was semi-structured and the interviews were guided by the participants’ accounts of their experiences. For incomers, topics included: life in their previous community; their decision to move; experiences of moving; and experiences of settling into their new area. For existing residents, the topics included: their earliest recollections of community life in the area; historic intergroup relations within and outside of the community; changes in the composition of the community; current relations with incomers to the area (schedule included in appendices). All interviews were transcribed verbatim and archived in a secure location. Given the sensitivity of the interview material and the impossibility of ensuring complete anonymisation of the data, these materials were not made available online. Ethical approval for these interviews was granted by the first author’s university.

Analytic Method

A theoretically-guided thematic analysis was conducted (Braun & Clarke, 2006), whereby the principles of the Social Identity approach were used to identify topics within the transcripts which were relevant to the identity dynamics of the reported events. For the present study, these topics pertained to the religious identities and local communities of the participants as well as their talk about the opposing religious group (e.g. feelings of belonging within previous and new communities, transitions between communities, perceptions of religious outgroup neighbours and experiences of intergroup mixing, perceptions of community identity change) so as to examine how these were understood and described in participants' own terms. All instances were identified and coded across each data set using Atlas.ti text-tagging software. These were then placed in separate files for incomers and long-term residents. From these files, codes were condensed into higher order 'themes' and a rough thematic structure was developed by the first author. This was returned to the data and tested across individual transcripts and the emergent thematic structure was discussed, then agreed between all authors. Particular attention was paid to instances that did not fit the general pattern observed across the data. These 'deviant cases' were returned to the context of their occurrence within the data and scrutinised to identify the basis of their difference (Seale, 1999). The general explanation of the theme was then amended to incorporate these exceptional cases until all cases were accounted for and a final thematic structure was produced.

Analysis

The analysis is organised into four sections, based on incomers' and long-term residents' identity-related concerns around residential mixing (sections 1.1 and 1.2) and their emerging experiences and perceptions of the other type of resident (sections 2.1 and 2.2).

[Insert table 1 about here]

Part 1: Incomers and Long-term Residents' Identity Concerns

A first set of themes discernible in the data pertain to how residents understand residential mixing in terms of identity and social relations within the community. For incomers, this largely concerned their place within the new neighbourhood as well as their relationship with their previous community. For long-term residents this concerned the previous dynamic of their neighbourhood and how this had changed with an influx of outsiders.

1.1: Catholic Incomers' Identity Concerns

The experiences of Catholic residents moving to the area was recognisable as an 'identity transition'. Incomers had left a relatively cohesive residential community behind and had severed their former neighbourhood ties to relocate to their destination. This transition was however more than simply moving between residential locations, as they were relocating into an area formerly exclusively occupied by the Protestant outgroup. In effect, there were two main themes in their accounts of moving: 'loss of community and acceptance' and 'incompatibility and regulation of religious identity'.

1.1a: Loss of community and acceptance

While they varied in their motivations for moving and their reasons for choosing their destination, most incomers reported some degree of loneliness or isolation because of the move. Many reported attempting to fit in and establish new relationships with neighbours, but this process was gradual and occurred over several years. In the following extract, a Catholic incomer from the Republic of Ireland talks of her experiences of moving to the area:

Extract 1: Catholic woman (interview 1)

F: Well I found it hard because I'm at home, J went out to work every day but on the other hand, I have young children and people with young children tend to congregate with other people with young children. So, after a while, well our eldest started in pre-school pretty much as soon as we started, so once I'd started to meet people and once I'd started to make friends and feel a bit more accepted. But it took about a year before I started to feel, before I stopped pining for home because it is quite difficult in your forties to move to a completely different place.

Here the respondent compares her own settling-in process to that of her husband J who had a ready-made social network through his job at a nearby university. In contrast, her own experience of integration was much more gradual as she was alone with the children on most weekdays, reporting that being older is less conducive to adjusting to a new area. Mixing was achieved mainly through meeting other parents, facilitated by sharing a common interest in the education and recreational activities of their children. Indeed, across all the interviews, parenthood was mentioned as the most direct way of networking within a new community among these incomers.

Notably, the participant describes this gradual process of forming bonds as difficult and incremental, occurring over the course of an entire year. Moreover, she reports missing bonds of friendship or 'pining' for previous relationships and equates establishing new friendships with being 'accepted'. Crucially then, these friendships are more than simply an accumulation of individual relationships but signify belonging to a new community. In line with much of the research on residential mobility then, many of our respondents gave clear accounts of how they experienced a loss of belonging following their move and strove to re-establish acceptance and belonging in their new locale.

Notably the respondent in extract 1 comes from the Republic of Ireland and in addition to having this additional status as an outsider, was quite distant from her previous home. For other residents, it was possible to maintain a connection with their previous communities or existing friends rather than attempting to integrate within their new communities. For those that felt as if they could not fit in within their new locales it was possible to retain ongoing links with friends and relatives outside of the area. Alternatively, having a network of prior friends nearby afforded some social support without necessitating contact with new neighbours. Both elements are present in the following extract:

Extract 2: Catholic woman (interview 11)

A: *Like I had a friend lived in K Street and we would've shared lifts to go home for camogie at that stage, I still was travelling back down. So that's probably an example of how my roots were still at home, you know, I was still travelling maybe three times a week, I went down at the weekends and still would've went down maybe twice midweek to train, you know. So I was kind of coming and going. But she lived in K Street which was closer to the bridge and she would've been very aware of wearing her clothes, her camogie clothes, because our club colours at home are green and yellow. So you had to be careful, yeah.*

This Catholic participant reported that she and her friend remained separate from the local community. Regular trips home (to a predominantly Catholic area) and maintenance of previous community activities (as a mainly Catholic sport, Camogie was not available in their new locale) allowed them to live separate parallel lives alongside their neighbours and were indicative of limited effort to integrate with their new neighbours. Notably this lack of integration is articulated explicitly in terms of the religious and cultural identities of the incomers: in addition to the mostly

Catholic nature of the sport the colours of green and yellow closely resemble those of the Irish flag and hence would be seen as potentially inflammatory in a predominantly Protestant area. In other words, on the occasions that participants did not report a willingness or desire to integrate within their local community, this was typically due to a perceived incompatibility between their religious identity and that of their new community. This forms the basis of the next theme.

1.1b: Incompatibility and regulation of religious identity

As noted above, the accounts of incomers to the area bear the hallmarks of a ‘transition’ between communities, with the concomitant fracturing or maintenance of old bonds and the formation (or not) of new ones. However, these incomers faced an additional challenge of moving to a community which was potentially incompatible with their religious identity. In the following extract, one incomer describes how the more mundane concerns of relocation were balanced with these additional considerations

EX 3: Catholic woman (interview 8)

F: L (Street) is where I looked, but L (Street) is quite flaggy, still is quite flaggy, so I'm kind of pleased that I didn't go there. But it was the wool shop and there were a couple of streets up there, T Street and O Street, they were a wee bit flaggy as well, so I thought, "No I don't", and they looked a bit like they hadn't been cleaned properly so I didn't really like that. But I quite liked this street, I quite liked this street but it wasn't flaggy in the slightest, not one flag could be found in this street otherwise I wouldn't have bought this house.

Most incomers reported paying close attention to the public displays of political symbols when choosing their houses. Political flags were perceived as territorial markers and as a signifier of the exclusivity of the local areas. As the participant reports here, some streets are visibly more ‘flaggy’

than others and, in the absence of any other information, were to be avoided when choosing a home. Indeed, she emphasises that the presence of a single political flag would have been sufficient to deter her interest. However, in the absence of such symbols, her criteria revert to the more mundane considerations of the accessibility of local amenities and, in this case, the presence of a wool shop. More generally, while incomers recognised that not all street residents displayed or supported the display of flags, they often felt that any visible symbols indicated a local tacit acceptance of the display of Protestant identity. This in turn was taken to suggest a lower level of mixing and of tolerance for Catholic incomers and so was to be avoided when choosing a house.

Even in streets within the area which had low or no levels of political displays, Catholic incomers felt reluctant to overtly display their own identity. As evident in extract 2, this often took the form of concealing sports emblems which were recognisably Catholic, but could also affect other signifiers:

Extract 4: Catholic man (interview 6)

A: *When we got married we were given a Sacred Heart, it stays in the kitchen even out of view of next door in case they move out and someone else moves in.*

I: *So the kitchen would be in the back of the house would it?*

A: *Yes. And it, so like obviously we didn't want someone going past the window and looking in especially because we've cats who will pull the curtains but there's nothing in the front room which would identify us.*

This participant is a young professional who, as with the participant in the previous extract, chose his house in a flag-free street within the area. Despite this, he reports being careful to regulate

every visible aspect of his Catholic identity (here the Catholic religious icon of the ‘Sacred Heart’), even within the privacy of his own home. While incomers were concerned to select an area that would enable them to fit into their neighbourhood, this was still tempered with the need to keep their religious background from public knowledge.

1.2 Protestant Long-term Residents’ Identity Concerns

Across the interviews, long-term residents reported perceiving profound changes within their locale which they attributed, in the main, to an influx of newcomers. These changes took two main forms and, as with the incoming residents, the first concerned the social relations within the community while the second concerned the religious identity of the area.

Theme 1.2a: Community Cohesion and Decline

Talking to the long-term residents about their experiences of having lived within their local communities uncovered quite similar accounts of the history of the area. Participants invariably referred to a past era in which the community had been very close-knit and supportive. Interestingly, this was articulated across participants of widely differing ages as being characteristic of their youth, though this would have referred to very different epochs. All agreed that the community had, until recently, been quite homogeneous and often composed of extended families of several generations living nearby. Against this historic background of social cohesion, the recent changes in the demographic makeup of the area was presented in terms of social decay. This was typically attributed to the character and behaviour of the incomers, who, in contrast to depictions of the long-term residents, were often portrayed as socially irresponsible and linked to the increase in anti-social behaviour. This could be articulated in terms of a general decline as in the extract below:

Extract 6: Protestant woman (interview 19)

K: Aye, in ways of, when we were younger you knew your neighbour and all and, you know, and then all of a sudden you didn't know your neighbour, you didn't know who was who. And it used to be, you know, you would have seen them out every day brushing their fronts and all but that all stopped. Nobody was, you know, street proud, cleaning or nothing, was never the same as when we were younger.

K's account of social decline begins with a nostalgic characterisation of the neighbourhood as based on familiarity but also on a common pride in the locale and collective endeavour to keep the streets - the public, visible and shared part of the neighbourhood - in order. This is contrasted to the sudden shift in the tenor of the locale in which a change in occupancy is directly associated with a reduction in neighbourliness. More often though, residents had explicit explanations of why the different types of people coming into the area disrupted local community cohesion. In the extract below, N provides a detailed account of how changing housing tenancy has allowed a shift in the demographic of the area:

Extract 7: Protestant man (interview 13)

N: I had noticed a massive change in the dysphoria of the [area] in that there was, the older folk were dying off and their houses were being bought up by private developers... a lot of the people were renting the houses, but a sizeable majority brought massive anti-social behaviour with them. And I noticed a change in that, so that what do you call it, people that had a bit of loyalty who were in at least, the ones that were coming in had no loyalty. And I'm not just on a sectarian basis here because there was a huge influx of Catholics

moved into the area, but it was huge influx of numbskulls, for want of a better word moved into the area and brought with them then anti-social behaviour.

In addition to the detailed explanation for the change in the population, N invokes a series of more explicit contrasts between incomers and locals to relate why this change has had its effect on the area. The changes, presented as negative, are attributed entirely to the incomers. Antisocial behaviour is depicted as being brought into the area by the incomers (rather than emerging from intergroup conflict) and moreover is attributed to a basic deficit in their character – a lack of investment in or ‘loyalty’ to the area.

It is notable that within this account, the issue of religious difference remains implicit. While N does report that the incomers include substantial numbers of Catholics and that these incomers lack ‘loyalty’ (which could be interpreted as incompatible with the existing Protestant ‘Loyalist’ population) he is at pains to distinguish the undesirable behaviour from the religion of the perpetrators, referring to the offenders as ‘numbskulls’ rather than by their religious label. In the next theme however, the issue of sectarian division was explicitly manifest as a distinct issue.

Theme 1.2b: Religious identity threat and identity enactment

On other occasions within the long-term residents’ accounts of neighbourhood change, religious difference was a central issue. Residents sometimes emphasised how the religious homogeneity of the area sustained the religious and cultural identity of long-term residents and so an increase in outgroup members within the boundaries of the area was understood to undermine the community’s Protestant, Loyalist identity. Below we see a young long-term resident being asked explicitly about present-day Catholic-Protestant mixing in the area:

Extract 9: Protestant man (interview 16)

I: *Do you think that is something that this area would be interested in, sort of being mixed and thinking that as a positive thing or do you think that's just a different?*

A: *Mixed as in?*

I: *Catholic, Protestant [respondent shakes head] it's not a-*

A: *It's not a goer. Because they know that there's the underpin of them, they'll be doing away with bonfires, flags, and parades. And people think you're mad, but it's not, it's been proven that there's a, that's their set of plans, is sort of the cultural washing away of it.*

A few elements of this exchange are noteworthy. Firstly, although the question is framed in terms of mixing, the respondent interprets this in terms of adversarial identity politics. An influx of Catholics is not simply a dilution of the population but a direct threat to the identity of the area. The threat is posed to the identity-related cultural practices of the long-term community (bonfires, flags and parades) and incomers are depicted as intentionally targeting these elements. While the interviewee acknowledges that his views may be taken as irrational '*people think you're mad*' he does explicitly pose the influx of Catholic incomers as posing a direct threat to the identity continuity of the area.

Some other participants did not present the influx of Catholics in terms of an organised campaign of cultural attack, but still equated an increase in Catholic residents with a challenge to the continuity of cultural practices in the area.

Extract 10: Protestant woman (interview 14)

L *I think people should be allowed to express their culture as well but not in a way that's threatening in a way to anyone else. I mean, I think if someone wants to put a flag up*

around marching season, I personally don't because I just couldn't be bothered with the hassle, but if someone felt strongly, if someone say was in the Orange Order or whatever religion and that, I don't see why they shouldn't be able to do that. But, I think a lot of people in our community kind of feel that, because I know now with [nearby Catholic enclave] it used to be like a Protestant area, years back... so I think people have this fear as well, of maybe, not being burnt out but, you know.

Here the participant, a local business leader, refers to several of the same practices as in the previous extract namely the flying of political flags and the Protestant tradition of marching. These practices of identity-continuity are presented as a matter of personal choice (she personally wouldn't choose to do this) but also as the right of an individual possessing strong political views. She frames flag-flying in particular as an expression of identity and distances this from the alternative interpretation of the display as an intimidating behaviour. In other words, acts of identity assertion are distinguished from negative or threatening behaviours towards an outgroup.

At the same time though, the participant highlights that the pattern of residential mobility in the local area does involve an element of threat for local residents, who may feel that the population shifts experienced during the Troubles (where the formerly Protestant nearby area became entirely Catholic in the late 1960s) are being re-enacted. This territorial threat was also equated with political threat as the changing population was perceived as having a likely impact upon the political representation of the area.

At this stage, it is worth noting that concerns and fears of incomers and long-term residents evidence a good degree of correspondence: for both sets of participants, a lack of community integration among incomers is a potential problem and a greater level of community cohesion is

the preferred outcome. However, in terms of identity compatibility, there is also anxiety and apprehension on both sides. In the next section, we examine how these dual concerns give rise to either positive or negative intergroup perceptions.

Part Two: Residents' Emergent Intergroup Perceptions

A second set of themes in each dataset pertained to how residents came to see their new neighbours. Beyond the residents' perceptions of mixing in relation to their own identity, all reported gaining some degree of insight into the intentions and behaviours of the other group. Notably, where the concerns and apprehensions of each group converged, usually around issues of community cohesion, there was evidence of successful communication and integration. Where they diverged, usually around issues of religious identity incompatibility, a more negative dynamic emerged.

2.1 Intergroup Anxiety and Mistrust

2.1a Identity Incompatibility Fuels Incomers' Community Withdrawal and Intergroup Anxiety

For some residents (as in extract 1 above) the process of settling in took some time and occasioned some loneliness. However, the main barriers to integration were reported to centre around issues of experienced identity incompatibility. Some incomers were concerned to conceal their religious identity and deliberately withdrew from social interactions with neighbours. These individuals tended to perceive the neighbourhood as exclusive and unwelcoming and notably they reported feeling more directly affected by displays of sectarian graffiti and political emblems in the locale.

Extract 11: Catholic man (interview 6)

A: *My only issue with flags is it's a bit awkward bringing a family up to visit I mean, because my parents are very sheltered, they would see a flag outside a house and panic to be honest. But I mean, my own issue with it is a Union flag or Tricolour it cheapens the area but I still don't feel threatened, I feel fairly safe. And the two neighbours I know on either side of me are both Catholic so the area is mixed, it is.*

I: *So, it's definitely mixed.*

A: *Yeah, it's just the reality is someone from a few streets across or from wherever has just brought a ladder and brought some flags, you know, to me that's all it means. But it's there and it's not off-putting to living there but definitely off-putting to buy there.*

While the respondent denies that the display of flags feels personally threatening, the potential fear attributed to his visiting parents indicates that such displays can have a negative effect on outsiders. Also notable is that, while the respondent does refer to knowing a few neighbours, these are other Catholic incomers rather than long-term residents. This lack of integration in the area is also accompanied by an unwillingness to live in the area in the longer term (*'definitely off-putting to buy there'*), something common to others who did not report forming links with long-term residents.

Other residents reported perceiving an expectation that they might themselves have to fly political flags. In the extract below the new residents have reported how their initial experience of seeing flags displayed along their new street felt 'freakish' and 'scary' and, when they were later invited to take part in this display, their reaction was one of distrust and fear.

Extract 12: Catholic couple (interview 3)

F: I think someone did come and knock and ask us did we want a flag for our flag pole and that kind of stuff, you know.

I: So what did you say in response to that question?

F: Just kind of, 'no thank you'. It was one of those things, what do you say? I mean, 'we're alright', you know...

M: Well, I have to admit I was a bit paranoid after it, yeah, I'd have to say yeah, definitely. Not overtly, but certainly a niggling at the back of my mind, you know, should we have put up the damned flag? You know, just for safety's sake?

Rather than as a potential sign of inclusion within the community, the invitation to fly a Unionist political symbol was interpreted by these incomers highlighting their difference. Given the ubiquity of flags along their street, the absence of a display on their house was acknowledged to be conspicuous. As a result, an unknown neighbour inquiring if help was required to fit a flag, was felt to signify that this had been noticed and perceived as a potential threat from those who may object. In this way, the identity assertions of long-term residents could be felt to be oppressive and exclusive.

2.1b Incomer Community Withdrawal Sustains Long-Term Residents' Intergroup Mistrust

In the same way as incomers were aware of long-term residents' identity-related concerns and behaviours, long-term residents also picked up on the identity-related behaviour of incoming residents. Incomers were effectively evaluated in terms of whether they made a good contribution to the local community, as well as whether they constituted a threat to the existing religious identity of the neighbourhood. These two types of evaluation could occur separately, but occasionally occurred in tandem whereby incoming Catholics were evaluated in terms of the combination of their social class and religious or political identity.

As evident from section 2 above, long-term residents defined the community in terms of strong bonds of support and cohesion and associated the decline in this behaviour with the influx of new residents. The perceived lack of incomers' engagement with the community was attributed to their lack of friendliness and excessive desire for privacy, rather than any feature of the existing neighbourhood which may afford or inhibit interaction. These perceptions of incomers lack of engagement with the local community could also be presented as justifying a negative reaction from existing residents:

Extract 13: Protestant man (interview 17)

J: *And these people have to be taught, I'm saying taught, but these people have to realise if you're coming into a community and a community's strong you have to adapt to that community. The community can't adapt to you without you showing some commitment to the community and you wanting to become part of that community. If you going to be stand offish from the community then the community is going to be stand offish with you.*

While in the extracts above, the previous community background of the incomers is not specified, on other occasions this became a specific focus of the interpretation of their behaviours. In the following extract a young local resident describes Catholic incomers as being particularly undesirable.

Extract 14: Protestant man (interview 13)

A: *There's been massive changes in terms of, you know, as you said, the sort of foreign nationals and even from Catholic and Nationalist communities moving to live here or being moved to live here, what way you want to look at it.*

I: When you say 'being moved' what did you have in mind there?

A: Well, there's a lot of feeling that sort of people that aren't, well not even the feeling it's been known, you know, the people that aren't sort of overly wanted or, you know, they have criminal records or the bad boys shall we say. Maybe even West Belfast or North Belfast and more Nationalist areas that have been moved and put into social housing around here and that causes major difficulties so it does.

In this extract, we see the changing demographic of the area being explicitly attributed to an increase in social housing. This was a particularly difficult topic in this area where there was a strong feeling that long-term Protestant residents deserved first pick of new social housing because of their longstanding contribution to the area, rather than housing being allocated to outsiders. In addition, social housing was seen to attract incomers with less to offer the locality and was associated with the occurrence of anti-social behaviour.

However, the current extract focuses on a particular type of incomer, characterised in terms of criminality. Specifically, these incomers are presented as having been forcibly moved from their previous locales due to previous anti-social behaviour. Hence these incomers are doubly discredited as being likely to damage the community as having little investment in their new communities through their lack of positive choice as well as their identity incompatibility.

2.2 Mutual Trust and Acceptance

Theme 2.2a: Incomer Community Commitment Fosters Intergroup Acceptance

In contrast, the accounts of positive experiences of Catholic incomers to the local area were characterised by several features which indicated that the incomers were cognisant of the need to contribute to the community while mindful of the identity-concerns of long-term residents.

Extract 16: Protestant woman (interview 14)

A: *There would be, I know, I mean I've grown up round there, I kind of know who's who and, so yeah. But, it's kind of like that, I mean, certainly with my neighbour K, I really like K, he's a really good guy and he was going to his car, from the house to the car in his GAA (inaudible) and I had to have a word with him. I did have a word with him, you know... I just said look, because he's really nice, and he's actually bought the house as well and I wouldn't like to see anything happen to him, you know, you just don't know who's walking by or who's about, who can see him.*

In this extract, we see a convergence of the long-term residents' concerns noted in previous sections. While the cause of concern is the visible display of outgroup identity (wearing a sports top of nationalist Gaelic Athletic Association), the way in which the neighbour is evaluated is in terms of his disposition 'nice guy' and his evident contribution and commitment to the local area "he's actually bought the house". In other words, the incomers' potential neighbourliness overshadows his breaching of local norms of identity display. Moreover, the manner in which this potential offense is diffused is through communication, such that friendly advice from the long-term resident is directed towards preventing any misunderstanding emerging.

Similarly, in the following extract a local community worker has previously mentioned a number of Catholic friends that live nearby whom he visits on a regular basis. Here he articulates why their move may have been successful.

Extract 17: Protestant man (interview 11)

A: *I just think of some of the friends that we knew who kind of moved into the area either in terms of buying houses or renting property at the same that we knew were from a Catholic background. So, we wouldn't have heard anything negative towards people of a Catholic background in the area, any of our neighbours wouldn't really have said anything negative actually, but they maybe wouldn't probably have known because you wouldn't really have known, as such, yeah. Like it wasn't a power of republicans moving in who would have been sort of very kind of open who they were, like I'm talking youth workers, solicitors, office workers who were from a Catholic background, who worked in the city centre, you know. So they wouldn't have been as visible as like a loyalist and a republican... there weren't even any Gaelic tops or anything on view, they probably would've been wise enough to know it mightn't have been a good thing to walk around the area.*

Here J provides a rather different account of fitting in than in extracts 15 and 16 above. Rather than presenting the low visibility of Catholic incomers as a problem he characterises it as an effective way of facilitating coexistence between incompatible political groups. By keeping a low profile and ensuring that their identity was not presented in a threatening way, the Catholic incomers are presented as having successfully integrated without having occasioned opposition from local residents. While it is uncertain whether the requirement to suppress identity would be considered a positive solution among incomers (who may well interpret this as evidence of identity incompatibility), the interviewee indicates that he sees this is a positive reflection of incomers' understanding of the area and sensitivity to its norms. This account of the low profile of incomers is supplemented with an indication of their relatively high social status as professionals. Once

more, and in contrast to the accounts of other incomers as welfare-dependent and criminal (as in extract 15 above), the incomers are positively evaluated on the basis of their societal contribution.

Theme 2.2b: Long-term Residents' Acceptance Promotes Mutual Trust and Community Cohesion

For some residents, such as in the incomer in extract 1, settling in and making friends was gradual and resulted in successful integration. For such residents, their experience of friendliness and welcome among their neighbours signified a welcoming environment and a cohesive community.

Extract 18: Catholic couple (interview 3)

M: For me where we're living now the only unexpected thing was how good our neighbours are, really couldn't get over it [...] Then we started getting to know our other neighbours, then a couple moved in and they have kids as well, close to our kids' ages and it's just been perfect, it really has, I mean, it's certainly the nicest place I've lived up here by a fairly long way. It's been wonderful.

F: I'm just thinking we were a few days in the house and P next door, P and T they've been there fifty years I think. But, I think I met her walking down the street and she said did you just move into number forty-nine and I said yeah, and she said, well I'm P she said, I'm always next door if you need me but we're not the kind to be bothering you, that's what she said.

Of note across the interviews was the pivotal role played by parenthood in the forming of new bonds with neighbours. Simply having children provided opportunities for incomers to meet and form friendships with other parents, even though it was likely that their children would still attend

single-denomination school. In addition, elderly neighbours were often mentioned as being a reliable source of neighbourhood information as well as a source of support for new Catholic incomers. These bonds were again developed despite the knowledge that these older residents were likely to be Protestant (as were P and T in the extract above).

Notably, for those incomers who did manage to form bonds with their local neighbourhood and especially with those from the opposing religion, displays of political symbols become more comprehensible and less threatening:

Extract 19: Catholic woman (interview 2)

C: But there is one neighbour away up at the top of the street who flies the Union Jack around the marching season but last year they kept it up right through until December which I felt wasn't in the spirit of our neighbourly kind of feelings here, you know. But then they took it down for Christmas and put up Christmas decorations instead, thankfully it didn't go back up again. But apart from that, you know, and I think that was just her way of supporting her people or whatever...What's it now June, it should be going up soon I suppose, if it's going up. I'd say she will put it up again and I don't think it's a defiance or anything in her case because I've actually spoken to her a few times up the street

While this incomer also clearly perceives the display of political identity to be a negative indicator of neighbourly relations, this extract is additionally noteworthy in two further regards. Firstly, it is evident that the new resident claims an insider's awareness of the local norms of flag displays (that they should be seasonal and not year-round). In other words, she is not objecting to political displays per se, but claiming that it breaches the shared understanding of their acceptability within the local community. In this way she is using her own entitlement as a community member to

highlight poor community membership or ‘neighbourliness’ of the flag flying resident. Secondly, the potential interpretation of the flag display as hostile is diffused by communication. Communication between neighbours provides information which allows an insight into the flag flyer’s motivation and prevents misinterpretation of the inappropriate display of identity as adversarial or ‘defiant’. Much in the same way as in extract 16, this community identity-based communication serves to diffuse potential conflict.

Discussion

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

The effects of residential diversification on community identity have largely been overlooked and, furthermore, the examination of identity processes underpinning residential mobility and community diversification have been undertaken separately. As a result, the emergent intergroup dynamics of residential mixing remain unexplored. The current study addresses these issues through the consideration of a single neighbourhood in which residential desegregation has led to substantial numbers of both newcomers and long-term residents living side by side. Using a qualitative approach, it explores the experiences of diversification from the perspective of extant as well as incoming residents as well as each of these group’s emerging perceptions of the other.

Our results firstly attest to the very different identity concerns and experiences of movers and long-term residents of receiving communities. In line with previous research on residential mobility (Oishi et al., 2013; Prahaso, Tear & Cruwys, 2017) issues of identity loss and belonging were paramount for incomers, such that they chose their location and interacted with their neighbours with a view to either maintaining their previous group memberships or fitting in with their new locale. For those aiming to settle into their new neighbourhoods, the incompatibility between their

religious group membership and that of their new locale had implications for the disclosure, display and enactment of their religious identity. Of course, these concerns could exist in tension with one another, as the requirement to conceal and regulate one's religious background could impede neighbourhood integration. However, at the same time, neighbourhood integration could provide resources to manage and overcome religious identity incompatibility.

For long-term residents the predominant focus of talk concerning neighbourhood change was on identity continuity as, in line with previous ethnographic studies of residential change elsewhere (e.g. Kasinitz & Hillyard, 1995; Meeus, et al., 2003) many reported that the changes in population in the area have undermined the previous sense of community identity. However, in the context of Northern Ireland, this had two distinct aspects. On the one hand, incomers were thought to undermine the sense of solidarity and community cohesion in the area by failing to support and participate in the close-knit neighbourhood. On the other, insofar as the area was perceived as an essentially Protestant territory, the fact that some of these incomers were Catholic evoked a perception of existential threat to the religious identity of the area (see also Stevenson & Sagherian-Dickey, 2018). On this basis, Catholic incomers were doubly accountable for their role in undermining both community cohesion as well as identity continuity of the community. Despite this, insofar as incomers were perceived to contribute to the cohesion of the local community and did so in a non-threatening way, they were accepted, tolerated and even valued as new community members.

Our analysis of both datasets allows us to further appreciate how the convergences and divergences in concerns and perceptions can lead to poorer or better relations between the groups. Firstly, in terms of divergences, it appears that the main strategy used by incomers to cope in a new and uncertain environment was withdrawal. 'Keeping oneself to oneself' was presented as the surest

way of maintaining security and avoiding identity-related conflict. While ‘hunkering down’ in this context has been documented by previous researchers (Hughes, Campbell, Hewstone, & Cairns, 2008) one notable consequence was that it was perceived by long-term residents as signifying a lack of willingness to participate in community life. Conversely, the display of political identity through the flying of flags was seen by long-term residents as a legitimate way of reasserting their local identity in the face of dilution by incomers, but was interpreted by some incomers as a display of sectarian exclusivity. In other words, the attempts by each group to address their own identity concerns could be interpreted as an identity threat by the other group.

In terms of positive dynamics, it was evident that mutual understanding and convergence of identity goals made for better relations. Both groups shared a need for belonging and support from their neighbourhood. Insofar as Catholic incomers displayed this need and were correctly perceived in their desire to integrate, this resulted in both incomer feelings of belonging and existing residents’ feelings of acceptance. Likewise, to the extent that existing residents made positive welcoming gestures towards incomers and their neighbourliness enabled cultural displays to be explained as non-threatening, both incomers and long-term residents reported mutual trust and acceptance. In other words, a common investment in the local community and an emergent sense of shared concerns facilitated the integration of new residents and the overcoming of sectarian divisions.

These results provide some new insights into the dynamics of neighbourhood diversification in the post-conflict society of Northern Ireland. Since the cease-fires of the late 1990s, residential mixing has often been taken by academics and policy-makers to largely afford opportunities for positive contact (Schmid et al., 2009; OFMDFM, 2013). We show that this is not the case and that within this area at least, mixing is accompanied by heightened anxiety on both sides, often exacerbated

by political tensions around community cohesion. Existing residents' concerns about the decline of community and the lack of social participation among incomers mean that new Catholic residents (especially those who are socially or economically disadvantaged) are likely to face increased suspicion and prejudice. Local groups who wish to obstruct residential mixing for political or sectarian reasons can easily exploit this tension by increasing displays of exclusive symbolism and targeting vulnerable residents. Consequently, strategies promoting residential mixing, such as shared social housing initiatives (OFMDFM, 2013), need to carefully consider the existing community relations before exposing economically or socially vulnerable incomers to potential threat. Where good relations do emerge through mixing, this is from the efforts of incomers and existing residents towards communication and integration. This suggests that supporting local community infrastructure with a view to building bonds between long-term residents and incomers and developing an inclusive sense of local community identity would help neighbourhoods cope with the challenges of diversification.

We argue that these findings also speak to the broader literature on residential diversification, which has tended to overlook the local dynamics of intergroup interaction. As well as highlighting the importance of the impact of diversification on neighbourhood identity, our results help explain why diversification has particularly negative effects on individuals with low levels of existing cross-group ties (Laurence, 2011; Stolle & Harell, 2013). Our work suggests that 'hunkering down' and the resultant poor communication between incomers and long-term residents can prevent an accurate construal of the intentions of the other group, which then perpetuates misinterpretation of outgroup behaviour as threatening and exclusive. Conversely, outgroup bonds and channels of communication allow the recognition of shared concerns and the reappraisal of potential outgroup threats as innocuous (Stevenson & Sagherian-Dickey, 2016).

Of course, this small-scale qualitative case study of a single neighbourhood means that these findings cannot be taken to span all experiences of residential mixing even within Northern Ireland, as residential areas differ widely in terms of their ethos and history of mixing. Our research does not address the complex regional and local politics which impact upon everyday life in Northern Ireland and by concentrating only on Catholic newcomers, the research fails to capture the experiences of other incoming religious and national groups within this locale. Finally, interview accounts of mixing are not the same as observations of actual encounters and research into the dynamics of situated intergroup interactions would help substantiate our findings. However, despite these limitations, our exploratory research evidences an important empirical distinction: *the identity-related experience of incomers differs from that of existing residents*. On that basis, we predict that across similar settings, the interaction of the identity dynamics of transition with those of neighbourhood identity change will fundamentally shape the outcome of residential mixing.

To facilitate this further research, and as a response to calls for dynamic models of intergroup interaction (Schwartz et al., 2014), we propose a Social Identity Model of Residential Diversification (SIMRD), outlined in Figure 1. The model draws on our findings to make hypotheses regarding the different identity-based motivations, concerns, and strategies of long-term residents and incomers and the resultant intergroup dynamics. First, we hypothesise that the motivations and concerns of long-term residents and incomers during residential mixing will be different, with long-term residents motivated and concerned by issues of community continuity and cohesion, whereas incomers will be concerned with issues of isolation and identity incompatibility. Second, we predict that these concerns will feed into emergent intergroup perceptions. Where these concerns converge between groups (e.g. around the future of the

community) we would expect to see positive intergroup perceptions, whereas where they diverge (e.g. around identity compatibility) we expect that negative perceptions will emerge. Third, we propose that these intergroup perceptions will inform the responses of each group to address their identity concerns. These response strategies will form the context for interactions with the outgroup which will either become the site of a positive cycle of harmonious interaction or a site of self-perpetuating conflict and division. Finally, we predict that changing the identity-based responses of each group (e.g. from defensive to cooperative strategies) will alter their experiences of intergroup encounters and in turn change the perceptions of their own and the other group. Our hope is that the SIMRD model will be used by researchers to explore the dynamics of residential diversification in different political and cultural settings and that it ultimately can be used by policy-makers to empower communities to cooperatively cope with the challenges of diversification.

Acknowledgements

This research was funded by the Community Relations Council of Northern Ireland grant no. CR/CD163278. The authors confirm that they have no conflicts of interest to declare.

References

- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77-101. doi:10.1191/1478088706qp063oa.
- Boyle, P., Norman, P. & Rees, P., (2004). Changing places: Do changes in the relative deprivation of areas influence limiting long-term illness and mortality among non-migrant people living in non-deprived households? *Social Science & Medicine*, 58(12), pp.2459-2471. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2003.09.011

- Brown, B., Perkins, D. D., & Brown, G. (2003). Place attachment in a revitalizing neighborhood: Individual and block levels of analysis. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 23(3), 259-271. doi: 10.1016/S0272-4944(02)00117-2
- Catney, C., (2015), Religious concentration and health outcomes in Northern Ireland, in Lloyd, C.D., Shuttleworth, I.G. and Wong, D.W. eds., (2015). *Social-spatial Segregation: Concepts, processes and outcomes*. Policy Press, 335-362.
- Devine-Wright, P. (2009). Rethinking NIMBYism: The role of place attachment and place identity in explaining place-protective action. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 19(6), 426-441. doi:10.1002/casp.1004
- Easterbrook, M. J., & Vignoles, V. L. (2015). When friendship formation goes down the toilet: Design features of shared accommodation influence interpersonal bonds and well-being. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 54(1), 125-139. doi: 10.1111/bjso.12062
- Festinger, L., Schachter, S., & Back, K. (1950). *Social pressures in informal groups; a study of human factors in housing*. Oxford, England: Harper.
- Haslam, S. A. (2014). Making good theory practical: Five lessons for an applied social identity approach to challenges of organizational, health, and clinical psychology. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 53(1), 1-20. doi: 10.1111/bjso.12061
- Haslam, S. A., Jetten, J., Postmes, T., & Haslam, C. (2009). Social identity, health and well-being: An emerging agenda for applied psychology. *Applied Psychology*, 58, 1-23. doi: 10.1111/j.1464-0597.2008.00379.x.
- Hewstone, M., Cairns, E., Voci, A., Paolini, S., McLernon, F., Crisp, R. J., ... & Craig, J. (2005). Intergroup contact in a divided society: challenging segregation in Northern Ireland. In D.

- Abrams, J. M. Marques, & M. A. Hogg (Eds.), *The social psychology of inclusion and exclusion*. Philadelphia: Psychology Press.
- Hewstone, M., Kenworthy, J. B., Cairns, E., Tausch, N., Hughes, J., Tam, T., Voci, A., von Heder, U., & Pinder, C & Pinder, C. (2008). Stepping stones to reconciliation in Northern Ireland: Intergroup contact, forgiveness and trust. In A. Nadler, T. Malloy, & J. Fisher (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup reconciliation* (pp.199-226). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kasinitz, P., & Hillyard, D. (1995). The Old-Timers' Tale: The Politics of Nostalgia on the Waterfront. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 24(2), 139-164. doi: 10.1177/089124195024002001
- Hughes, J., Campbell, A., Hewstone, M., & Cairns, E. (2007). Segregation in Northern Ireland: Implications for community relations policy. *Policy Studies*, 28(1), 33-53. doi:10.1080/01442870601121429
- Iyer, A., Jetten, J., Tsivrikos, D., Postmes, T., & Haslam, S. A. (2009). The more (and the more compatible) the merrier: Multiple group memberships and identity compatibility as predictors of adjustment after life transitions. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 48(4), 707-733. doi: 10.1348/014466608X397628.
- Jetten, J., & Hutchison, P. (2011). When groups have a lot to lose: Historical continuity enhances resistance to a merger. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 41(3), 335-343. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.779
- Jetten, J., & Wohl, M. J. (2012). The past as a determinant of the present: Historical continuity, collective angst, and opposition to immigration. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 42(4), 442-450. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.865

- Jones, J. M., & Jetten, J. (2011). Recovering from strain and enduring pain: Multiple group memberships promote resilience in the face of physical challenges. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 2(3), 239-244. doi: 10.1177/1948550610386806
- Khan, S. S., Hopkins, N., Reicher, S., Tewari, S., Srinivasan, N., & Stevenson, C. (2015). Shared identity predicts enhanced health at a mass gathering. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 18(4), 504-522. doi: 10.1177/1368430214556703
- Laurence, J. (2009). The effect of ethnic diversity and community disadvantage on social cohesion: A multi-level analysis of social capital and interethnic relations in UK communities. *European Sociological Review*, 27(1), 70-89. doi: 10.1093/esr/jcp057
- McNamara, N., Stevenson, C., & Muldoon, O. T. (2013). Community identity as resource and context: A mixed method investigation of coping and collective action in a disadvantaged community. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 43(5), 393-403. doi:10.1002/ejsp.1953
- Meeus, B., Devos, T., & De Blust, S. (2016). The Politics of Nostalgia in Urban Redevelopment Projects: The Case of Antwerp-Dam. In *The Commonalities of Global Crises* (pp. 249-269). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Nolan, P. (2014). *The Northern Ireland Peace Monitoring Report Number Three*. Community Relations Council, Belfast.
- Obst, P. L., & White, K. M. (2005). An exploration of the interplay between psychological sense of community, social identification and salience. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 15(2), 127-135. doi:10.1002/casp.813
- Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister (2013). *Together Building a United Community*. Stormont, Belfast: OFMDFM.

- Oishi, S., Kesebir, S., Miao, F. F., Talhelm, T., Endo, Y., Uchida, Y., ... & Norasakkunkit, V. (2013). Residential mobility increases motivation to expand social network: But why?. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 49(2), 217-223. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2012.10.008
- Pandey, K., Stevenson, C., Shankar, S., Hopkins, N. P., & Reicher, S. D. (2014). Cold comfort at the Magh Mela: Social identity processes and physical hardship. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 53(4), 675-690. doi: 10.1111/bjso.12054.
- Pettigrew, T. F. & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 90(5), 751-783. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751.
- Pettigrew, T. F. & Tropp, L. R. (2008). How does intergroup contact reduce prejudice? Meta-analytic tests of three mediators. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 38(6), 922-934. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.504.
- Praharso, N. F., Tear, M. J., & Cruwys, T. (2017). Stressful life transitions and wellbeing: A comparison of the stress buffering hypothesis and the social identity model of identity change. *Psychiatry Research*, 247, 265-275. doi: 10.1016/j.psychres.2016.11.039
- Putnam, R. D. (2001). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. Simon and Schuster: New York.
- Putnam, R. D. (2007). E pluribus unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century the 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30(2), 137-174. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9477.2007.00176.x
- Savelkoul, M., Hewstone, M., Scheepers, P., & Stolle, D. (2015). Does relative out-group size in neighborhoods drive down associational life of Whites in the US? Testing constrict,

- conflict and contact theories. *Social Science Research*, 52, 236-252. doi: 10.1016/j.ssresearch.2015.01.013
- Schmid, K., Hewstone, M., Hughes, J., Jenkins, R., & Cairns, E. (2009). Residential segregation and intergroup contact: Consequences for intergroup relations, social capital and social identity. In M. Wetherell (Ed.), *Theorizing identities and social action* (pp. 177 – 197). London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Schmid, K., Tausch, N., Hewstone, M., Hughes, J., & Cairns, E. (2008). The effects of living in segregated vs. mixed areas in Northern Ireland: A simultaneous analysis of contact and threat effects in the context of micro-level neighbourhoods. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 2(1), 56-71. doi: 10.4119/UNIBI/ijcv.27
- Schwartz, S. J., Vignoles, V. L., Brown, R., & Zagefka, H. (2014). The identity dynamics of acculturation and multiculturalism: Situating acculturation in context. In V. Benet-Martinez & Y. Hong (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of multicultural identity* (pp. 57-93). Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Seale, C. (1999). Quality in qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 5(4), 465-478. doi: 10.1177/107780049900500402.
- Shankar, S., Stevenson, C., Pandey, K., Tewari, S., Hopkins, N. P., & Reicher, S. D. (2013). A calming cacophony: Social identity can shape the experience of loud noise. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 36, 87-95. doi: 10.1016/j.jenvp.2013.07.004
- Shirlow, P. & Murtagh, B. J. (2010). *Belfast: Segregation, violence and the city*. London: Pluto.
- Shuttleworth, I., & Lloyd, C. (2013). Moving apart or moving together? A snapshot of residential segregation from the 2011 Census. *Shared Space*, 16, 57-70.

- Smeeke, A., & Verkuyten, M. (2015). The presence of the past: Identity continuity and group dynamics. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 26(1), 162-202. doi: 10.1080/10463283.2015.1112653
- Stevenson, C., Easterbrook, M.J., Harkin, L., McNamara, N., Kellezi, B., & Shuttleworth, I. (2018). Neighbourhood Identity Helps Residents Cope with Residential Diversification: Contact in Increasingly Mixed Neighbourhoods of Northern Ireland. *Political Psychology* (in press). doi:10.1111/pops.12510
- Stevenson, C., McNamara, N., & Muldoon, O. (2014). Stigmatised identity and service usage in disadvantaged communities: Residents', community workers' and service providers' perspectives. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 24(6), 453-466. doi: 10.1002/casp.2184.
- Stevenson, C. & Sagherian-Dickey, T. (2016). Collectively Coping with Contact: The role of ingroup support in dealing with the challenges of intergroup mixing in residential contexts. *British Journal of Social Psychology*. doi: 10.1111/bjso.12150
- Stevenson, C. & Sagherian-Dickey, T. (2018). Territoriality and Migration in a Divided Society: Lay Theories of Citizenship and Place in Northern Ireland. *Qualitative Psychology* 5 (1). doi: 10.1037/qup0000072
- Stolle, D., & Harell, A. (2013). Social Capital and Ethno-racial Diversity: Learning to Trust in an Immigrant Society. *Political Studies*, 61(1), 42-66. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9248.2012.00969.x
- Twigger-Ross, C. L., & Uzzell, D. L. (1996). Place and identity processes. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 16(3), 205-220. doi: 0.1006/jevp.1996.0017

- van Ham, M. & Manley, D., (2012). Neighbourhood Effects Research at a Crossroads. Ten Challenges for Future Research Introduction. *Environment and Planning A*, 44(12), pp.2787-2793. doi:10.1068/a45439
- Van Knippenberg, D., Van Knippenberg, B., Monden, L. and de Lima, F. (2002), Organizational identification after a merger: A social identity perspective. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 41, 233–252. doi:10.1348/014466602760060228

Table 1. List of Themes

Part 1: Residents' identity concerns	
<i>1.1 Catholic Incomers' Identity Concerns</i>	<p>Theme 1.1a: Loss of community and acceptance</p> <p>Theme 1.1b: Incompatibility and regulation of religious identity</p>
<i>1.2 Protestant Long-term Residents' Identity Concerns</i>	<p>Theme 1.2a: Community cohesion and decline</p> <p>Theme 1.2b: Religious identity threat and identity enactment</p>
Part 2: Residents' Emergent Intergroup Perceptions	
<i>2.1 Intergroup Anxiety and Mistrust</i>	<p>Theme 2.1a: Identity Incompatibility Fuels Incomers' Community Withdrawal and Intergroup Anxiety</p> <p>Theme 2.1b: Incomer community withdrawal sustains long-term residents' intergroup mistrust</p>
<i>2.2 Mutual Trust and Acceptance</i>	<p>Theme 2.2a: Incomer community commitment fosters intergroup acceptance</p> <p>Theme 2.2b: Long-term residents' acceptance promotes mutual trust and community cohesion</p>

Figure 1. The Social Identity Model of Residential Diversification

